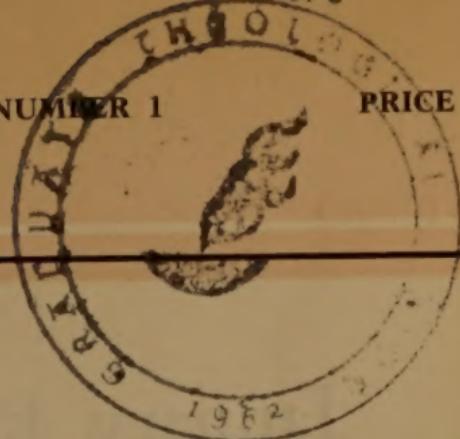


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Christian Order

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1975

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Christian Order

EDITED BY

Paul Crane SJ

VOLUME 16

JANUARY, 1975

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Holy Year: Then and Now

THE EDITOR

I REMEMBER the last one. There was an air then of relief, with a second world war five years gone by, but the memory of its passing still fresh; and of hope, that it would not happen again and that, this time, men would try to make something of the peace.

Above all, for Catholics, there was the confidence that came with faith renewed throughout a great pontificate. We Catholics were united then as never before and, because of that unity, the Church stood strong in the eyes of the world as never before. It was not only Catholics who flocked to Rome in those days. It seemed at times as if the whole world found its way there. "I've seen your Pope", said a Protestant friend who had spent some days in Rome. For him, clearly, this had been the highlight of his visit. So many spoke in those days in similar terms. That Holy Year, twenty-five years ago, came as the crown of a great achievement. In it and at it all rejoiced.

I hope desperately it will be the same this time, but I am not sure. I doubt whether it will. For the unity has gone from our ranks that was there before. Rome knows this, for the theme chosen for the Holy Year is reconciliation and reconciliation implies division not only between the Churches, but within our own Catholic ranks as well. We

are tragically divided now, where once we were one. It has happened in ten short years. And with unity has gone the strength that made the Church stand like a rock twenty-five years ago and that drew so many to her to take to themselves something of the strength that was hers. Now, however, she is too like the world to draw men to herself. The last thing men want is to come seeking and find, at the end of their journey, no more than something of themselves. Yet this, nowadays, is all the Church appears to offer them and it is this that repels.

It is this, I am afraid, that may keep the Faithful from Rome this Holy Year—the heartbreak so many know will be theirs if, as they fear, they find the well-tried and the holy they have loved in their Mother overlaid with too much that is new, untried by time and, as they see it, too close to the things of this earth, too horizontal, if you like; too unfamiliar, too alien from all they have ever loved in the Church. They will be reminded only of division, not unity when they meet with thousands of others at Rome for the Holy Year. This is what they fear; that the Holy City will seem no longer like home. Too much, they fear, will jar and, when it does, they will be brought near breaking-point, as I was brought near breaking-point last year at Lourdes when, tugging a sick pilgrim in a wheelchair up the slope from the underground basilica after Mass, I had to pass a French Bishop, disguised like a down-at-heel bank clerk, with a brief-case under his arm, blessing the sick as they went by, with a vacant grin on his face. As I passed him, I nearly blew up. What bit me then, in minor key, many fear will bite them in major key at Rome; that a visit, even for the Holy Year, will emphasize the divisions within our ranks, therefore weaken rather than strengthen the unity that should, as Catholics, belong to us all.

This fear, I am afraid, may keep many away from Rome this Holy Year. Little is to be gained from disguising it. Meanwhile, let us hope and pray that events will prove the fear groundless. If this proves the case, no one will be happier than I.

This short article, we think, is a gem. In it you have summed up most perceptively, and with great compassion, the heart-break that today afflicts so many Catholics, not only in the United States, but throughout the Church.

Good Grief?

SOLANGE HERTZ

THE little man who isn't there at Mass was seen not there again last Sunday. Wonder when he'll go away? Doesn't he find the liturgy stimulating? Or relevant? Why isn't he relating? Are the acoustics bad? Should the sermons be better? Has he lost his faith? What's the matter with him? Doesn't he *care*?

The dramatic decline in attendance, now plainly visible to the naked eye without help of statistics, fails to yield to the experts' attempts to capture the little man's active co-operation. These seem strangely blind to his real problem, which seems so plain down here at housewife level. Here anybody can see he's in a state of *grief*.

Berated for his apathy, mechanical response and general lack of concern for his surroundings, he is in fact displaying what any old grandmother would recognize immediately as symptoms which appear in anyone suffering the loss of a beloved. Years ago even psychologists recognized the grief syndrome which sets in from "sudden cessation of social interaction" with a person around whom one has built one's life. That the symptoms can be dangerously delayed reactions make it all the more imperative to diagnose them correctly. It seems to me the little man is in fact reeling under what he feels is the loss of his Mother the Church.

That we have Our Lord's word for it that Mother can't die hardly alters the case. The little man *feels* it's true, and his autonomous nervous system does the rest, despite any

intellectual arguments to the contrary. He need only in fact feel that Mother *might* die in order to suffer all the deadly effects of anticipatory grief, a phenomenon long observed by psychiatrists, let alone grandmothers: "We were at first surprised to find genuine grief reactions in patients who had not experienced a bereavement, but who had suffered a separation . . . The patient is so concerned with adjustment after the potential death . . . (he) goes through all the phases of grief".

Look at his symptoms. They are identical with those noted by Dr. Erich Lindemann in his study "Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief." First, the somatic or bodily reactions:

These occur in waves (usually on Sundays), and are characterized by tightness in the throat such as may be seen coming on during Protestant hymns or the 100th verse of Kumbaya. There is "choking . . . need for sighing and an empty feeling in the abdomen" together with "shortness of breath," probably provoked by trying to keep up with the minier mini-Masses. There is a general all-gone sensation of exhaustion with lack of muscular strength. "I can't sit through it," groans the little man. All this is compounded by the distressing appetite failure evidenced in the grief-stricken. Gone is the old relish for the Bread of the strong and of angels, now distributed as a sign of community.

Is It really there, considering what the priest's intentions at the Consecration may be? The psychological symptoms such as this are even worse, characterized as they are by intensively subjective tension and mental pain at the thought of the beloved. These produce disturbing unreality feelings, coupled with a sense of increased emotional distance from other people. They may begin mildly enough with, "Is this still the Catholic Church?", but can erupt violently at the handshake of peace, should a total stranger from three pews back swoop onto the victim from behind or worse still, kiss him. Deep preoccupation with the image of the deceased usually sets in, keeping before the sufferer's eyes how Mother used to look, what she used to say, how she used

to care, etc.

Despite this image preoccupation, or perhaps because of it, there grows, according to Dr. Lindemann, a very natural and widespread tendency in the grieving "to avoid the syndrome at any cost, to refuse visits lest they should precipitate the reaction, and to keep deliberately from thought all references to the deceased". This one symptom of bereavement might go far to explain why many no longer attend Mass, or do so perfunctorily only through obedience. Dialogues or discussion-club session could well be painful beyond endurance, for too many beautiful memories would be evoked.

Far from stemming from loss of faith or lack of love for the Church, absence from such functions could prove just the contrary. The mere sight of the Church's presumably lifeless body can't be risked for fear of total breakdown. How many don't we hear today saying, "I'm staying away so I can hang on to what little hope I have left"? Rather than pass supercilious judgment on them, church authorities would do well to ascertain their charges' emotional difficulties before prescribing more irritants. This is no laughing matter. People do die of grief, both physically and spiritually, a fact observed in studies made in combat zones, concentration camps and all around us.

Intellectually the victim may agree his condition is irrational. Grief isn't rational, any more than any other kind of unsolicited suffering. It's useless to preach at one in deep mourning, let alone excoriate him for the world's poverty and a political situation he can't do anything about, all in the name of Christianity. He's in shock and can't hear you. Be kind. Be patient. He has much grief-work to do. He's busy.

Instead of reducing his unbearable tension by supporting him as never before with the great dogmas of the Faith and the life-giving doctrine of the Cross, certain procrustean pastors seem intent on persuading him that these have all changed, that he must revamp his every idea about God if he is to rise above his depression. Told to look the other

way for a minute, he's lucky if someone doesn't swipe his holy water. His old missal has already been confiscated. The Tridentine Mass hallowed and revered through the centuries, and never abrogated by Paul VI, is treated in America as a shameful relic to be viewed only in the greatest privacy *sine populo*. The Gospel has been couched in new verbiage that reduces all familiarity with it to a minimum, and whatever images he can still find to nourish devotion with are likely to be those he keeps hidden at home.

If he complains, he's told he's in his deplorable state because he's been dead wrong about practically everything until now. If we are to believe Dr. Lindemann, this will only aggravate the hostility and guilt feelings which seem to surface inevitably in the wake of true grief. "The bereaved searches the time before the death for evidence of failure to do right by the lost one. He accuses himself of negligence and exaggerates minor omissions". Could what is happening now in the Church be God's punishment on him for his misdemeanours? His need for forgiveness acute, he is told he frequented the Confessional too compulsively and must learn to view sin as regrettable social hang-ups to be resolved through more communal penitential practices.

Gone the understanding confessor. Is it any wonder he soon exhibits the next symptom: "In addition there is often disconcerting lack of warmth in relationship to other people, a tendency to respond with irritability and anger, a wish not to be bothered by others at a time when friends and relatives make a special effort to keep up friendly relationships . . . Great efforts are made to handle (these feelings), and the result is often a formalized, stiff manner of social interaction". To hasten his recovery his Job's comforters take care to replace every familiar prop by something new and shiny, preferably vulgar. Then he's ordered to be joyful—or else.

Such calculated cruelty is the therapy of psychological warfare. It's diabolic. Can its practitioners really be aware of what they're doing? Can they really know, for instance, the psychological effect the Mass of the Resurrection can have on someone prostrated with grief? One widow I know,

almost beside herself, was made to walk up the aisle with the gifts at her husband's big city funeral. Her requests for the traditional hymn *In Paradisum* firmly denied, she was told the singing must be joyous and Easterly, in keeping with the happy event of her husband's passing. Today she recalls with bitterness that she grinned hysterically from ear to ear throughout the service, for fear of breaking down and screaming at the choir and celebrants. To make matters worse, there were photographers, because, alas, at the moment her husband happened to be news.

It's useless to remind the perpetrators of such shows that Jesus the Son of God wept real tears over Lazarus, that He also groaned in the Garden of Gethsemani, and to acquaint them with the fact that firm adherence to God's holy will doesn't preclude misery and heartache—the very stuff of the strengthening Cross. *Passio Christi, conforta me!* with all the exaltation of the human we are being treated to today, delicate human kindness seems to have fled our liturgy. We wonder who it is who doesn't care, and who really isn't there.

"My son, shed tears over the dead," counsels Scripture (Ecclus. 38:16).

King Lemuel's wise old mother says there's really only one helpful remedy for sorrow:

Give strong drink to them that are sad,

and wine to them that are grieved in mind.

Let them drink and forget their want,

and remember their sorrow no more (Prov. 31:6-7).

Ultimately this strong drink can only be the Precious Blood of Christ, from whose cup we partake of eternal life. Draining the chalice is the true grief work of the Christian. Even psychologists know this. "Comfort alone does not provide adequate assistance in the patient's grief work. He has to accept the pain of bereavement . . . He will have to express his sorrow and sense of loss." At the Mass of the Resurrection? "The duration of a grief reaction seems to depend upon the success with which a person does the grief work . . . One of the big obstacles to this work seems to be the fact that many patients try to avoid the intense distress

connected with the grief-experience and to avoid the expression of emotion necessary for it".

The very stones are crying out, and still our liturgical bureaucrats will not hear.

The Church's children—both lay and clerical—suffer today in direct proportion to their love for their beloved Catholic Mother in the midst of the family tragedy that has closed upon us. They suffer in ways that anyone who has ever attended a funeral with his heart can recognize. Those who love her very much and are intimately involved in her inner life are beyond tears at what seems to have happened. They are shocked, and appear apathetic. Life suddenly looks meaningless. Bewildered and smouldering with anger, they can trust themselves only to mechanical tasks. They suffer dumbly and obediently, awaiting the Resurrection.

Those who love her more superficially are throwing themselves into the funeral arrangements, comforting the other mourners as best they can by directing pent-up energies to the exterior. (Not to be sneered at, ritual mourning can be a great help when it isn't phony.) They exhibit "restlessness, inability to sit still, moving about in an aimless fashion, continually searching for something to do". Anything to kill the pain. Unfortunately, however, "there is at the same time a painful lack of capacity to initiate and maintain organized patterns of activity". Could this be why the missalettes are changed so often?

We must close regretfully by noting a third class of mourners: those who are secretly delighted at Mother's supposed demise. These do not love her at all. Looking forward greedily to their newfound freedom from her authority, together with carving up her estate, they mingle their crocodile tears with those of their brothers and sisters until the will is read. We only mention them.

Note: All quotations in the foregoing are from Erich Lindemann, "Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief," *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. 101, No. 2.

G.K.C. — Journalist

GREGORY MACDONALD

IT was good to find in *Christian Order* the article on Chesterton by Mr. Charles Gorman, paying tribute to a great man in his centenary year. To my mind he is right in saying that Chesterton was first and foremost a Fleet Street journalist—that was how he saw himself—but too many recent books, essays and articles have given a distorted picture of that part of his journalistic work to which he attached the greatest importance. From his early days in 1899 with J. L. Hammond on *The Speaker*, later with Belloc and his brother Cecil on *Eye-Witness* and *New Witness*, and finally as editor of *G.K.'s Weekly* until his death, Chesterton stood for a tradition of independent journalism. These were weekly reviews (it seems now the superior fashion to call them “little magazines”) independent of political parties, of financial interests, of combines and advertising agencies that might have provided revenue and inhibited the free expression of opinion.

Of course this work was a burden on Chesterton and on those who helped him. His wife Frances deplored the drain on his energies and many of his friends thought that, rather than write for *G.K.'s Weekly*, he should produce more masterpieces like *The Everlasting Man* or *St. Thomas Aquinas*. But Chesterton, who was a strong character, was determined to maintain a free forum for the discussion of public affairs. He also welcomed the pressure of opinion which created the Distributist League, working in London and up and down the country to give practical effect to a social philosophy of responsibility, which seemed to many to be the way through the twin dangers of monopoly capitalism in the irresponsible hands of the few and irresponsible state power exercising also a tyranny over the masses.

Both *G.K.'s Weekly* and the Distributist League were widely influential in the little more than a decade that they

had before the Nazi-Soviet pact and the invasion of Poland. We are sundered from the thirties by the War and the Bomb, so some aspects of that time must be recalled. People still looked back to pre-1914 days (as we look back to 1945 and beyond): there were strong currents of objection to the growth of combines, to the destruction of agricultural and village life by machines, to the corruption of parties and the sub-culture of tycoons. Radio was not then a dominating voice in society and there was no television. So discussion was personal and vigorous on the ills of society and their possible cure—Single Tax, Social Credit, Guild Socialism, Fabianism and the rest. Societies met in pubs or halls for weekly debates, they formed their committees, with often enough splits and rows on what were considered questions of principle. The Distributists were not unique in that, though too much has been made of it, for they were on the whole a sane and humorous group.

Finally, the period between 1925, when *G.K.'s Weekly* began, and the death of Chesterton in 1936, was a complex and ill-boding time of change. From the confusion of the post-war twenties there was the sudden lurch into the Great Depression. Perhaps a watershed was the emergence of Roosevelt and his New Deal, the appearance of Hitler as German Chancellor. There was lively debate on economics and finance. The ideological war began between Right and Left, Fascism and Communism, a mock-war as it appeared when the Nazi-Soviet Pact was signed, but passions deepened with Mussolini's campaign in Abyssinia, which was to be followed by the international war in Spain. This was a time of emotional propaganda, of secret policies, of public lies, with friendships broken and families split. It was difficult to keep a balanced policy in *G.K.'s Weekly* or for the Distributists to get a hearing. But the balance was kept, I think, and the seed that was sown will yet bring fruit.

All this was discussed reasonably enough by Maisie Ward in her two biographical books on Chesterton, which simply cannot be reconciled with a more recent version

that Chesterton foolishly undertook the work and great expense of *G.K.'s Weekly* as a debt of piety to his brother Cecil, or under pressure from Belloc, that the paper was chaotically edited and of no influence; that the Distributists were a group of ne'er-do-wells whose quarrels saddened Chesterton and perhaps shortened his life.

This version, which puts Chesterton in a foolish light, has been propounded with apparent authority in recent books, so that it was naturally reflected in newspaper and periodical articles for the centenary. The anonymous review in the *Economist* (25/5/74) of the centenary book of essays was a quintessence of the new version: "By busying himself with lost causes, little magazines, Distributism and Catholicism, Chesterton made certain that he would have no time to be great. The magazines went broke. Distributism attracted around it a most motley collection of clowns, egocentrics and charlatans (though much of what it stood for is now fervently espoused by environmentalists from Hampstead to Highgate). But Catholicism made him happy . . ."

Where do I begin in vindication of Chesterton's reputation? Perhaps I would appeal to Mr. Charles Gorman and others of his generation who remember how strong the influence was of Chesterton, of *G.K.'s Weekly* and of Distributism. Or this may not be necessary, for in some articles of the centenary, or in letters to editors protesting against the false version, it was clear that a better memory prevails. Thus, Sir Dingle Foot, Q.C., in *The Times* (5/5/74): "As an undergraduate I and several of my contemporaries shared Chesterton's political views. We wholly approved of his attacks on plutocracy. Like him we were against the rich. But we did not believe in the socialist solution which, as it then appeared, would concentrate all property in the hands of the State. So we became Distributists. It was almost obligatory to patronise small, backstreet shops, and avoid large multiple stores".

Or Hilaire Belloc, a frequent contributor to *G.K.'s Weekly*, though his correspondence shows that he criticised

it to others. He wrote in the issue of November 19, 1932: "It is well worth while writing articles in *G.K.'s Weekly*. They are read in the right places and they have effect . . ." The paper "is read in Fleet Street, it is read by the editors of the various papers, and apparently even by one or two of the owners". Among them, it seems, Lord Beaverbrook, who issued orders that Chesterton, Bellock and *G.K.'s Weekly* were not to be mentioned throughout his empire. The prohibition was neatly got round by J. B. Morton, the well-remembered "Beachcomber" of the *Daily Express*, who quoted (11/10/35) a passage from the current issue of *G.K.'s Weekly* with the comment that it came "from the only weekly paper worth reading".

None of this sounds like a movement, a paper, without influence at the time. Indeed, the influence survived the second war, as Anthony Eden showed when he launched for Conservatives (26/10/46) the slogan of a property-owning democracy, a policy "based on achieving the widest and most equitable distribution of wealth into private ownership" as the counter to Socialism. Nothing much came of that, but the *Economist* review already quoted, with the remark that much of what the movement stood for "is now fervently espoused by environmentalists from Hampstead to Highgate", is light-hearted evidence that the influence persists. At a time when the talk was of mass-production and a Brave New World, the Distributists were pointing out that everything man has and makes comes from the thin crust of the earth. They argued that the resources and fruits of the earth must be used in good husbandry, not squandered for a greedy profit which was ravaging the land with motor-roads, destroying the balance of nature with chemicals and exhausting the fertility of the earth. The Distributist League, and the Land Movements associated with it, stood for family rather than factory farming, for the encouragement of land settlement and co-operative credit associations. They were derided as romantic mediaevalists, but with the Oil and Energy Crisis last year they were seen by many to be pioneers. They were aware

of the problems of the ecology, of conservation and pollution, before the words became the slogans of Hampstead and Highgate.

In the thirties, the Scottish and Welsh Nationalists were deeply affected by Chestertonian principles, so there was a friendly rivalry when, in 1934, the Distributists of Glasgow University put up Paderewski of Poland as their candidate for the Lord Rectorship. The Distributists came in second, the Nationalist third, with Sir Archibald Sinclair and Stafford Cripps trailing dismally behind. Chesterton, of course, had close associations with Poland and, throughout its existence, *G.K.'s Weekly* stood consistently alone in the British Press as the champion of Poland against German revisionist claims upon the so-called "Corridor", the Polish province of Pomorze. The paper also foresaw the danger that Berlin and Moscow would come to agreement for the partition of Poland and that a sudden attack upon Poland would open the next war. This was explicitly predicted six months before Hitler came into power (30/7/32).

Another line of policy developed in *G.K.'s Weekly* was the interpretation of international politics through the moves made by international finance. At the core of this was the principle—which in those days of apparently inevitable Boom and Slump seemed very strange—that the primary function of government is to ensure the stability of the general price level. It is still the crux of governments today. The early years of Roosevelt's New Deal were seen to be a successful effort to restore price-level stability after the Wall Street collapse, against bitter opposition; so *G.K.'s Weekly*, again, alone in the British Press, supported Roosevelt. All this was pioneer journalism, but the interpretation of politics by finance did lead to some remarkable "scoops".

At the same time, as the Abyssinia crisis deepened, the independent judgment of the paper, endorsed by Chesterton, came heavily under attack even among Distributists. For myself, I think to this day that the policy was right. It did not defend Mussolini for his war in Abyssinia. *G.K.'s Weekly*, with a clear sense that Moscow and Berlin might

yet combine against Poland, simply refused to be drawn into the ideological mock-war; it feared that Stalin's policy was to provoke a war and then to reap the spoils—*tertius gaudens*—of an exhausted Europe; and Chesterton argued that the governments which were preaching a moral crusade against Italy could not by the same standards defend their own colonial history in Africa.

Surely, enough has been said to show that, in recent writings for the centenary, Chesterton's reputation has been diminished exactly where he would most want to be understood: as a journalist, as an editor in the tradition of free speech, as a man taking a responsible part in public affairs. He made his stand, he respected those who stood with him, and the Distributists were honoured in their time. "There are too few brave and able and independent journals on the bookstalls," wrote the *Observer* (18/11/34), "and we may hope that G.K.'s *Weekly* will wield its cudgels and lighter implements for many years to come".

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Professor James Hitchcock's latest book is of great significance. In the hope that as many readers as possible will buy and study it, Father Crane is devoting this and a following article to an outline of its central argument.

CURRENT COMMENT

Desacralizing the Liturgy

I: Who Started It?

THE EDITOR

JAMES Hitchcock's *Decline and Fall of Catholic Radicalism*⁽¹⁾ was a joy to read. He has followed it now with another book, which may prove even more important than his previous publication. It is called *The Recovery of the Sacred*. To my mind it is of immense significance at the present time, for what we are witnessing now within the Church is not merely the disintegration of worship, but the disintegration of belief itself; and it is the merit of Hitchcock's new book that he not only pin-points in very clear language the relationship between the two, but shows how the boomerang effect exercised by one on the other is, of its very nature, cumulative.

Built-in Element of Self-Destruction

Built in to present liturgical reforms there is, according to Hitchcock, an element of self-destruction which, unchecked, can only end in the secularization—which means the end, except for a battered remnant—of the Catholic Church. Hence the pressing need to restore the sacred to

(1) Obtainable, along with the book under review in this and a subsequent article from Pro Fide Book Service, 39 Wallington Avenue, Croydon, Surrey, price £3.20 (post free).

the Church's life of prayer and worship. It is a pity that the last chapters containing Professor Hitchcock's suggestions in this regard should offer a little less than some would expect. But the rest is magnificent. For its sake alone this book deserves the widest possible circulation. Because I have found it so convincing, so apt in its articulation of what I know are the feelings of so many about the New Mass and the New Liturgy as a whole, I am devoting this and next month's *Current Comment* to a review-commentary covering some of its major points.

Earlier this year, I remarked in a series of articles on "The Old Mass" that, when the New was introduced, many Catholics sensed, without being able to explain why, that it was qualitatively different from the old: one has this feeling, in fact, about the New Liturgy as a whole and the outlook of the post-conciliar Church as a whole. I note, to my satisfaction, that Hitchcock has the same point to make; but he goes on to explain why. In his view, the liturgy of the Church has been secularized—desacralized, if you like—as part of a secularizing mania, which gripped would-be liturgical reformers in the immediate wake of the Council. It is important to notice this. The Council was not responsible for the new liturgy. Harvey Cox was—not entirely, of course, for, in the case of the New Mass, as Michael Davies has shown readers of *Christian Order* in "The Fort Betrayed", bogus ecumenism has had a very large part to play in this context; but in this sense that the pronounced element of desacralization, which so many find so disturbing in the new liturgy, is largely the result of the influence exercised on so many liturgical reformers within the Church by Cox's book, *The Secular City* (now, incidentally, right out of date).

The Council and Liturgical Reform

In the years leading up to the Council a very great tradition of liturgical reform headed by very great men like the German monk, Odo Casel and the Jesuit, Joseph

Jungmann sought "to suggest paths of reform which might restore the worshippers' sense of the Mass as sacrifice, as the offering of Christ by the whole church" (p.5). They were successful in their pleading. As Hitchcock points out, the Second Vatican Council's *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* "was a document infused with the classic spirit of the Liturgical Movement. Like nearly all the Council's decrees, it took pains to preserve the essential traditions even while allowing for the change". In support, Hitchcock cites some of the Constitution's pronouncements. They are worth reproducing here, even at some length, in order that we may know where we are in this important matter. Here is Hitchcock's selection of pronouncements:

"For it is through the liturgy, especially the divine Eucharistic Sacrifice, that 'the work of our redemption is exercised'. The liturgy is thus the outstanding means by which the faithful can express in their lives, and manifest to others, the mystery of Christ and the real nature of the true Church (Preamble,2)."

"He (Christ) is present in the sacrifice of the Mass, not only in the person of His minister, 'the same one now offering, through the ministry of priests, who formerly offered himself on the cross', but especially under the Eucharistic species (1,7)."

"In the earthly liturgy, by way of foretaste, we share in that heavenly liturgy which is celebrated in the holy city of Jerusalem toward which we journey as pilgrims, and in which Christ is sitting at the right hand of God . . . (1,8)."

"Popular devotions of the Christian people are warmly recommended, provided they are in accord with the laws and norms of the Church. Such is especially the case with devotions called for by the Apostolic See (1,13)."

"Regulation of the sacred liturgy depends solely on the authority of the Church, that is, on the Apostolic See and, as laws may determine, on the bishop (111,22,sec. i)."

"Therefore, absolutely no other person, not even a priest, may add, remove, or change anything in the liturgy

on his own authority (111,22,sec. iii)."

"The saints have been traditionally honoured in the Church and their authentic relics and images held in veneration. For the feasts of the saints proclaim the wonderful works of Christ in his servants, and display to the faithful fitting examples for their imitation (V,111)."

"The Church acknowledges Gregorian chant as proper to the Roman liturgy: therefore, other things being equal, it should be given pride of place in liturgical services (VI,116)."

"In the Latin Church the pipe organ is to be held in high esteem, for it is the traditional musical instrument, and one that adds a wonderful splendour to the Church's ceremonies and powerfully lifts up man's mind to God and to heavenly things (V,120)."

"Ordinaries must be very careful to see that sacred furnishings and works of value are not disposed of or allowed to deteriorate; for they are the ornaments of the house of God (VII,126)."

Hitchcock notes that "cautious departures from standard customs were permitted in the document, but even in dealing with the question of the vernacular liturgy the Council fathers seemed to envision translation as exceptional, Latin as normal" (111,36,sec.3).

Secularist Take-Over

I think no apology is required for quoting at such length. It is important at this stage to take cool and objective note of the Council's wishes in respect of the Liturgy in order that we may be better fitted to take stock of the liturgical mess into which the post-conciliar "reformers" in our midst have led us. The quotations just given from the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* are in complete accord with what we would expect from a Council of the Church. I doubt whether a single member of the Latin Mass Society in this country would have any fault to find with any of them. On the contrary, I feel sure he would be in full

support of them all. What he objects to with vehemence and quite rightly in my opinion is not the reformed liturgy as envisaged by Vatican II, but the increasingly secularized celebrations which began to be substituted for true liturgical reform, of the kind envisaged by the Second Vatican Council, less than two years after the Council ended in 1965.

In that year, the liberal Baptist theologian, Harvey Cox, published his book, *The Secular City*, in which he argues that contemporary man (whoever that may be) "is content to live in a secularized world, in accordance with a pragmatic ethic, unconcerned about 'ultimate reality', interested only in improving the world (p.8)". It followed that, in the eyes of those liturgists and theologians who so quickly and so thoughtlessly had assimilated the Cox thesis, liturgy could have little meaning for Cox's contemporary man unless drastically revised; which means secularized; which means wrenched out of its *essential and primary* relationship to God; which means a contradiction in terms; nothing, quite literally a no-thing. It is important to be very clear here—if the primary purpose of liturgy is no longer to give God that praise and worship which is his due, but to relate, as it is said, in meaningful fashion to secularized, modern man; if this is the way it is (falsely) seen, then, by that very fact, any liturgical reform has bedded within it the seeds of what will certainly prove to be its own cumulative destruction. For, once the liturgy is set primarily at the service of man rather than the worship of God, it becomes inevitably the plaything of man, progressively secularized and related solely to his passing needs: inevitably also, belief, which is expressed through liturgy, degenerates under such circumstances into mere humanism, which itself soon passes into agnosticism.

A Double Untruth

It was within eighteen months of the close of the Council in 1965 that what you might call the second-line theologians

and liturgists, who had been so strongly influenced by Cox's proclamation of the essential secularism of contemporary man, to say nothing of the writings of Bonhoeffer and Bultmann, set out on the road of relevance, their self-appointed task being that of making the liturgy meaningful in a secular age. It is important to note before we go on to see something of what they said, that their point of departure rested on the double untruth that liturgy existed primarily for man, not God; and that man himself was immersed in the secular so that, to be meaningful in his regard, liturgy itself had to be secularised. The post-conciliar, liturgical reform went wrong, then, from the very start: its premisses were both false.

Let us look now at what the second-line liturgical reformers and theologians were saying half-way through 1966, roughly a year and a half after the Council ended. It would have been bad enough had they only talked. I am afraid they did more. They took over; and they are still in charge. I wonder if some of those Bishops, especially in the United States, who keep telling the faithful to accept the liturgical reforms out of respect for the Holy Father, realise the true parentage of so much that is proposed. If they did, they might be shocked into thinking very carefully on what they are doing. Let us look now at what the second-line liturgists were saying a year and a half after the Council closed. The picture is nauseating; but it is worth study. I intend to quote Hitchcock at some length:

Mass and Cocktails

"Early in the fateful year 1966 a Benedictine monk articulated the new spirit: worship was to be characterized above all by spontaneity; he suggested that a successful Mass might be one which generated 'the fun of a successful cocktail party'. A Lutheran architect, taking his inspiration from the German theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer, urged that designers of churches 'deal unabashedly with the finite, the ordinary, the secular, the everyday, the contemporary,

the particular. And he ought to avoid . . . all those temptations to make of a church something different, special or religious'. A Jesuit characterized traditional liturgy as a breeding ground for atheism, because it seemed to make God irrelevant to life. A retreat master proclaimed that 'the retreat is no time for long faces and frowning concentration'. The abbot primate of the Benedictines suggested that worship is no longer to convey 'a feeling of eternity or the world beyond — an experience of man approaching God that is unique to that moment', which would lead to a 'new archaism and a neo-archaeologism', but 'is to be primarily the communal sensitivity that I am one with my brother next to me and that our song is our common twentieth-century situation . . .' He urged that sacred music 'deny her exalted position of being a telephone to the beyond'.

Mass and Social Justice

"At the 1966 Liturgical Week in Houston, Texas, a Jesuit theologian expounded with conviction Harvey Cox's thesis about secularity and warned that worship could be a form of escape from the demands of social justice. Mary Perkins Ryan lamented that the Eucharist was still not fully recognizable for what it is—a community meal. Cautiously she suggested that other elements besides bread and wine might be used. A parish priest on the board of the Liturgical Conference said he found the exuberance of amateur skaters at Rockefeller Centre more truly liturgical than Mass in a nearby church. He noted, however, that the spirit of celebration cannot be sustained indefinitely and pointed to the bullfight as an outstanding ritual celebration.

"Although such ideas represented a radical departure from the spirit and goals of the Liturgical Movement prior to the Council, they were not much debated and by the end of 1966 seem to have compelled general assent among liturgists, although there were commanders and foot soldiers from the earlier wars who saw that the new conflict was not theirs and dropped out. By early 1967 a new editor of

Worship admitted that the relationship of the sacred and the secular was a crucial one for the liturgy but thought it could be dealt with by recognizing that 'contemporary man does not deny the transcendental, but he seeks it within the life of this world . . . There is no hope for a liturgical reform which would equate the secular with the profane'. He was appalled at the state of the religious arts and thought most theatres and museums were better expressions of the sacred than contemporary church buildings. A British composer urged that all music of the past be banished from the churches and relegated to the concert halls, and the abbot primate of the Benedictines complained that the Divine Office was too 'God-centred and vertical'. The editor of *Worship* wondered why liturgists could not learn from American civic pageantry how to construct relevant liturgies; the President, for example, does not wear special vestments at his inauguration, and chanting is clearly out of place in American culture. Since the rest of the world seems destined to become Americanized, he thought liturgies built on the American model would gradually come to have wide usefulness.

Mass and Magic

"In 1969 the General Secretariate of *Concilium*, an influential group of European theologians, rejected the 'mythical symbols which lend a magic superstitious character to public prayer and devotion, the unhealthy climate of escapist dreams'. They called for 'the symbols of a freedom which creates its own forms, its own interhuman dialogue where man represents God and finds his own image of God'. A Spanish Benedictine, writing in a *Concilium* volume on liturgy, contemptuously dismissed all the 'archaic' and 'meaningless' trappings of worship and warned that it created the 'practicing type' of Catholic rather than the 'believing type'. The former was characterized as living in fear, unfree, compulsively searching for security, guilty of the 'sin of magic', while the latter type seeks for free and

personal efforts to create 'a more just world'. An Italian composer heaped praises on the youth Masses in which 'one expresses oneself and realizes oneself' and dismissed the organ as expressive of 'a decidedly senile spirituality'. Concerning traditional worship he said, 'Only a god of the dead could be pleased with such glacial homage and the faithful who do rebel on seeing the community (sic) enclosed in such a funereal apparatus probably believe not in the God of rites, but in the rites themselves'."

Pop Reformers Have Their Day

Once again, I apologise for the length of this quotation; but I think it was worth it. I find the whole extraordinarily revealing. What it is so important for the reader to realise is that here you have the true parentage of today's liturgical reforms. For, against the outcry raised by these pop liturgical reformers in favour of a secularized liturgy, very few authoritative voices were raised and Authority in the Church was itself silent or, when it spoke, remained for the most part unheard. This is understandable. It took foresight to grasp what was going on and very few possessed it. The few who wrote warningly against the secularist trend were dismissed as reactionaries. Meanwhile, as Hitchcock notes, the liturgical revolution which had proceeded with such speed in the course of one short year, left liturgists everywhere in an anomalous situation. As Hitchcock points out, "Once the principle had been accepted that liturgy should be relevant in a secular way, cutting itself off from the world in no significant manner, deliberately modern, and as far as possible spontaneous and expressive of personal feelings, it was clear that the established liturgy, even as reformed by the Council and assuming further changes in the proximate future, was not very usable. All inheritance from the past, all set prayers and gestures, all prescribed forms were more or less arbitrary, and insofar as they still had relevance it had to be tested in each case. In a sense the official liturgy was to be considered guilty until proved

innocent. The editor of *Worship* asserted that nothing in liturgy was necessarily fixed, including the words of institution or consecration, 'if the liturgy is normally self-expression of the Christian community' . . ."

The Harvey Cox Syndrome

This then was it. The search for relevance, endemic in a secularized liturgy, had begun. And with the search came the confused experimentation that went with what Hitchcock calls "the Harvey Cox syndrome—a fundamental uncertainty about precisely who 'secular man' is and for what he is searching". Not long ago, for young America, it was the Great Society and the New Frontier, then racial justice, then peace in Vietnam, then social justice, then ecological balance, then, believe it or not, its own soul; which brought it back once more from the secular to the spiritual, with a longing once more, confused, indeed, but real, for the supernatural; which was just about the last thing that the Catholic Church in America, still adjusting its liturgy to the claims of supposedly secular man, was capable of giving it. In America or anywhere else it will remain that way until the realization comes that nothing makes a liturgy more meaningless than constant attempts to make it meaningful, nothing strips it more quickly of relevance than constant probings to make it relevant.

Liturgical Movement; Then and Now

In conclusion, it is interesting to note with Hitchcock the present stance of the Liturgical Movement as compared with pre-conciliar days. He speaks mainly of the United States, but I would say his words have general application. He notes among the principal differences: "1) Rather than a desire to change the liturgy in order to show forth the 'sacred mysteries' more effectively, it manifested deep suspicion of the mystical character of worship as a distraction from human problems.2) Rather than emphasizing the

timeless and perennially valid forms of the liturgy, it sought to bring it as much as possible into conformity with contemporary culture.³⁾ From a relationship of fundamental respect and obedience to Church authorities, it began to conceive its role increasingly as one of divergence from officially prescribed forms.⁴⁾ From seeking forms of worship valid for the whole Church, it came to a preoccupation with liturgies usable only by special groups and an eager acceptance of the notion of 'liturgical pluralism'."

Next month we shall look further into the effects of this secularizing process. They can be described quite legitimately as disastrous.

(To be concluded)

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"Agreement or Compromise?"

by

Michael Davies

A critical examination of the Anglo-Roman Catholic joint statement on the ministry obtainable from the

Author at 46 Blacklands Road, London SE6 3AF.

Last November we published the reflections of a priest on the new triumphalism. This month we give those of a layman. Their message is a powerful one and can be considered very fairly as representative of a large segment of the Catholic body in this country. Its feelings have been ignored for far too long by episcopal authority.

The New Triumphalism Reflections of a Layman

DENZIL GALVIN

ONE of the favourite ploys used by the Progressives or Neo-Modernists in the Church today—manifest in the utterances of, say, Cardinal Suenens or Hans Kung as much as in the verbalising of the rank-and-file radical Catholic—is that the free and open spirit of “renewal” ushered in by the Second Vatican Council has released us from the alleged triumphalism of the post-Tridentine Church. By “triumphalism” these Catholics ask us to believe that between Trent and Vatican II the Church was dominated by an over-emphasis on papal authority enforced by ultramontane clerics, by an exaggerated regard for dogma and canon law and by a paternalism within which the faithful felt “secure” and where they fulfilled their Christian role so long as they kept to the “rules” without any necessity to think for themselves.

Genuine Triumphalism

Of course, the Church of its very nature may be described as triumphalist in the sense that, as a divine institu-

tion mandated by Christ to teach all nations, it is guaranteed against teaching error in faith and morals. When Our Lord promised Peter that the gates of hell would not prevail against His Church—was not that a triumphalist statement? Similarly, pronouncements by the Church such as Vatican II's *Lumen Gentium* and the recent papal declaration *Mysterium Ecclesiae* when they solemnly re-assert the magisterium's teaching as coming from the one, true Church of Christ, are redolent with triumphalism in its genuine meaning. But, is the kind of triumphalism or authoritarianism attributed to the post-Tridentine Church by today's Progressives really true? Is there not in fact another—and a really dangerous — type of triumphalism infecting the Church today?

Triumphalism and the Reformation

To understand the real nature of the so-called triumphalism of the post-Tridentine Church one has to put it into perspective against the religious upheaval at the Reformation and the onslaughts of rationalism and liberalism that followed later. While under the Tudors England had been wrenched from the centre of Catholic unity, the greater part of Northern Europe had succumbed to Lutheranism and Calvinism—the latter even infiltrating Catholic France. The Church was faced not only with the loss of whole provinces of Christendom but by an intellectual assault upon its very authority, doctrines and structure. The Counter Reformation, as exemplified by the Council of Trent, had therefore to rally the spiritual and moral reserves of the faithful not only by initiating reforms to correct long-standing abuses, but by reasserting the central truths of the Faith such as the sacrificial character of the Mass, the Real Presence, the nature of grace and free-will and the authority of the Church based on the papal primacy. Without this "triumphalism", this re-girding of the sinews of the Faith, the Church would not have stemmed the Protestant tide to the extent it did. Indeed, one could say that, if the Church

had met the Protestant challenge with anything like the woolly spirit of compromise with secularism as evidenced by today's Catholic Progressives, then the greater part of Europe would have been lost.

Triumphalism and the French Revolution

The next great challenge to the Church came in the eighteenth century with that offshoot of Protestantism—Deism or natural religion—which acknowledged no doctrine save what the unaided reason could discover and whose sole end was the practice of natural virtue. It found its rationale and breeding ground in a France ravaged by the incursions of Jansenism. Its exponents, led by such atheistic humanists as Voltaire and Diderot, dominated the salons, schools and literature of France (what we would now call “the media”) in much the same way as the Catholic Progressives have penetrated the media in the Church today. It was these rationalist philosophers, and like-minded writers and social reformers, who contributed to the first Encyclopaedia, so written that at every turn the universality of human knowledge was made to tell against religion in general and the Catholic Church in particular. The Encyclopaedists (as they were called) prepared the ground for the French Revolution and for the endemic anti-clericalism which was to mark French society; they also paved the way for the secular liberalism which spread through Europe in the wake of the Revolution. The advent of liberalism—which was by no means confined to the Protestant States of Europe—marked a watershed in the relationship between the Catholic Church and European society. Liberalism denied the right of the Church as a system having views on the morality of public life—politics became independent of morals. The papacy ceased to be a temporal power, the State consenting merely to tolerate the profession and practice of Catholicism by the private citizen. The so-called triumphalist Church having failed to stem this secularist tide, henceforth had to meet the challenge of liberalism by infusing the more

positive ideals of that creed—the correction of industrial and social abuses—with the true Christian message. It fell to a great pope—Leo XIII—to inaugurate that great movement called Catholic Social Action.

Besetting Sin of the Progressives

Now the besetting sin of many of our modern Catholic Progressives when they employ the word “triumphalism” in a pejorative sense against the pre-conciliar Church is their eclectic use of history to bolster their charge. They condemn the Church of the Counter Reformation as triumphalist when it had to forcefully re-assert its authority and mission in things spiritual, but play down the challenge of the absolutist (and increasingly secularist) Catholic and Protestant States whose encroachments upon the Church’s preserves sometimes made the distinction between the spiritual and the political difficult to discern. They deplore what they call the rigid institutionalism and doctrinal insistence of the Church, yet say little about the narrow and joyless creed of Calvinism attacking it from without and the disruptive forces of Jansenism and Quietism burrowing into it from within. They point to “political” prelates like Richlieu and Mazarin, or to ultramontane clerics which the politico-religious struggles of the post-Reformation era not unnaturally produced, as examples of the Church’s “triumphalism”, but fail to give due regard to the other side of the coin. The spiritual reserves of strength engendered and bestowed to the faithful of an embattled Church by individuals like St. Teresa of Avila, St. Philip Neri, St. Robert Bellarmine, St. Francis de Sales and St. Jean Vianney; the works of corporal mercy by men like St. Vincent de Paul, St. John Bosco, St. Peter Claver and Fr. Damien; the rise of the Catholic Social Movement in Germany under the inspiration of Bishop Ketteler that became the forerunner of the modern trade guilds and unions; the great social encyclicals of Leo XIII that were a landmark in applying Christian principles to modern industrial and

social problems, and which gave such an impetus to Catholic Action, and the foundation of Christian democratic parties and unions in Europe—all these are conveniently forgotten.

Triumphalism of the Progressives

Who are these Catholic Progressives who say that in accordance with "the spirit of Vatican II" the so-called authoritarianism or triumphalism of pre-conciliar Catholicism must be replaced by a more "open" and "democratic" form of Church structure which allows for consultation with "the people of God" at all levels? They are those Catholics upon whom in varying degree has rubbed off the *zeitgeist* of the modern world with its own triumphalist faith in material progress and the self-sufficiency of man, which declares that "change" is inevitable and is always for the better. The progressive intellectuals in the Church, heirs to the quasi-Christian liberalism of Lamennais yesterday and reared on de Chardin and Kung today—no less than those rank-and-file Catholics most influenced by their radical views—have all been affected by the relativist values of the secular milieu with its decreasing respect for authority, discipline and tradition. Catholics so influenced are in a particularly vulnerable position because caught by the pervasive media of a secular society on the one hand and, on the other, by the influence of the radical Catholic intellectuals who dominate the Church's own media.

The typical progressive theologians and the other clerics and lay people who are always accusing the pre-conciliar Church of authoritarianism seem curiously unaware of the fact that they, whether as individuals or pressure groups, are themselves exhibiting all the marks of a new triumphalism. Hans Kung, for instance, comes naturally to mind as the gentleman in the theological college who labours under the "triumphalist" illusion that he knows more about the nature and exercise of papal infallibility than the occupant of the See of Peter himself. It is Kung and Cardinal Suenens who

have popularised the dialectical syndrome wherein the Church is regarded less and less as a unique, authoritative and magisterial body which, at any moment in time, is the visible Christ-given *datum* expressing the authenticity of revealed truth—theologically, doctrinally and morally. In its place they would substitute a “pilgrim” or “evolving” Church where, at this particular point in time, a number of its definitions on doctrine and judgments on moral conduct are still in an open-ended state of “development”. In other words, past and present definitions or rulings by the magisterium on such matters as the Eucharist, the nature of the priesthood, Anglican Orders, the indissolubility of marriage, contraception and even papal infallibility, while enjoying respect, may not be the Church’s last word in the light of new theological “insights”. Meanwhile the people of God enjoy the “indefectibility” guarantee bestowed on them by Dr. Kung and Cardinal Suenens. Is not this attitude the triumphalism of your modern Catholic Progressive, who is saying in effect that he knows best when this doctrine or that moral judgment of the Church has been fully developed and understood and can therefore now be accepted by the people of God? (These erroneous ideas about a “modified” papal infallibility and “developing” doctrine in the Church have been fully dealt with in the recent papal declaration *Mysterium Ecclesiae*—which expresses the true triumphalism of the Church).

Humanae Vitae: a Case in Point

Of course, the classic example of the mentality of the new triumphalism was the reaction of Catholic “liberals” to the ruling of *Humanae Vitae* on artificial contraception. The Progressives who rejected the papal ruling on theological or intellectual grounds, viewed the encyclical, as it were, from the wrong end of the telescope. They started from the premiss that the pill was a necessary and convenient means of regulating fecundity within marriage and then attempted to rationalise its lawfulness inside the framework of the

Church's teaching on the moral law. To do this they were forced to "re-evaluate" the meaning and authority of *Humanae Vitae*, "re-assess" the natural law in the light of changed modern conditions and invoke "new insights" provided by science and psychology into sexual behaviour. The whole argument was then encased in relativist language and imagery such as an "informed conscience" allowing the "responsible" use of artificial birth control. It was, in fact, a reversal of the distinction between objective and subjective morality so that the latter became the norm for their "informed conscience". In other words, the triumphalism of the Catholic "liberal" who believes that he or she knows more about God's laws concerning human life than the celibates in the Church's magisterium.

The New Liturgy: Progressive Triumphalism

Perhaps nowhere else has the self-centred triumphalism of the Progressives had a more far-reaching effect on the Church than in the reform of the liturgy. Immediately after the Second Vatican Council the radical liturgical reformers lurking in the wings—and with the aid of like-minded clerics and lay people — fully exploited the generalised language of the *Constitution on the Liturgy* by pressurising the Consilium (the body set up to implement the changes) into stepping up the extent and pace of the reforms. Today we are confronted with a situation (most marked in certain Continental countries and in America but now radiating out to this country and elsewhere) where the Progressives are using the inherent pluralism in the basic rite of the new Mass as a means of turning it into a "plasticine" Mass moulded to suit their own self-centred belief that, for worship to be effective, it must be "relevant" to the modern scene. The clerics and laity who "adapt" the Mass to include demo hymns or readings from de Chardin to promote their own socio-political views (usually Leftist), or turn it into a "folk" or "dance" Mass to appeal to the young or make it a chummy communal "meal" to further a false ecumenism,

are all distorting the true nature of the Church's liturgy by transforming it into a man-centred way of worship; self-expression supplants self-abasement before the altar of God, "relevance" replaces reverence.

The liturgical situation in which the Church finds itself today can therefore be said to be a triumphalist *fait accompli* carried through by the Progressives. Not something deliberately conceived in the mind of Pope John or by the *Constitution on the Liturgy*, but that which has come about as the result of a campaign by the radical reformists and their camp-followers to change the whole form and ethos of the Mass; changes that were not asked for by the mass of Catholics nor were they consulted at the outset. The Progressives are the first to complain about the "triumphalism" of the pre-conciliar Church enforcing a rigid adherence to dogma and discipline on the docile faithful, the first to demand "consultation" at all levels in the Church when it comes to such matters as the choice of a new bishop or women's place in the officiating Church; but when it concerns arbitrary changes in the bedrock of the Church's liturgy imposed virtually without consultation on the mass of Catholics, then our radicals are quite content to abide by a liturgical triumphalism which fully meets their egalitarian and man-centred idea of worship.

Bishops and the New Triumphalism

The whole trouble with the Church today is that this new, self-satisfying triumphalism of the Progressives or Neo-Modernists has coincided with a generation of episcopal shepherds who (with a few notable exceptions) are all too ready to listen to the bleats of a vociferous clerical and lay minority in the fold of the Church; bishops who too often lay greater store by the majority votes of episcopal conferences than by the exercise of their own judgment and wisdom when it comes to dealing with clamours from below for changes and concessions; who mistake the voices of the "forward-looking" theologian, the "liberal" layman in the

parish council and the Women's Lib lady in the Newman circle for the *sensus fidelium* of the Church. Until our spiritual shepherds project something of that true triumphalism which once saved the post-Reformation Church, then the credibility of Catholicism will continue to suffer even greater damage from the pervasive nostrums and activities of the quasi-Catholics within the fold and from the anti-Christian forces without.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF A CHRISTIAN SOCIETY

By
Colin Clark

Reprint in pamphlet form of the article which appeared in
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In this perceptive article Henry Edwards shows that nationalization is no more than the transference of bourgeois values and management to public enterprise. And the trouble with the trade unions today is that what they really want is to seize power and adopt the values the bourgeoisie are in process of losing.

Bashing the Bourgeoisie?

H. W. J. EDWARDS

“YOU have destroyed the freedom of Parliament: you have done your best to shut the door of the House of Commons to the birth, the rank and the wisdom of the people: and have flung it open to passions and follies. You have disfranchised the gentry and the real patriotism of the nation; you have agitated and exasperated the mob and thrown the balance of political power into that class, the shopkeepers, which in all countries and in all ages, has been, is now, and ever will be the least patriotic and the least conservative of any.”

Tories Attack the Bourgeoisie

I have taken that paragraph from Coleridge’s *Table Talk* to introduce what follows. It seems to me of some importance that Coleridge’s attack on what amounts to a large and influential part of “the middle class”—the bourgeoisie—was made not by a radical or early socialist but by one who in the now almost archaic sense was a Tory. Indeed, the text shows this—“you have disfranchised the gentry”. Coleridge was not the only Tory to make the attack. Southey made it. The bright young men who sat at the feet of Coleridge, Smythe, Digby and Manners, made it. From a somewhat different source Carlyle made it when he sneered at the

“gig-men”, and Cobbett, a Tory who is best described as a bucolic radical-Tory, made it again and again, e.g. when he spoke out against nabobs and stockbrokers. But I believe that the strongest and most sustained attack came from a Jew of the middle class, Benjamin Disraeli (I write here only of the attack from the Tory standpoint). He made it in his *Sybil or The Two Nations* in 1844 when the Communist Engels had published his *Condition of the Working Class in England*.

Rich Man; Poor Man

From one and a very important point of view *Sybil* is a sustained attack upon the middle class; for it was his contention that the overweening political and economic power of what was really the new bourgeoisie had split England into two nations, the rich and the poor. In this connection I am reminded of a hymn by Mrs. Alexander (who also wrote “There is a green hill far away”) which contained a verse that has long been unwisely deleted from hymn books. The hymn is very well known: “All things bright and beautiful” and the verse reads:

“The rich man in his castle
The poor man at his gate
God made them high and lowly
And ordered their estate.”

Critics have superficially rejected it, not taking into account what Mrs. Alexander meant by “the rich man in his castle” and “the poor man at his gate”. We must try to think in her mind, so to speak; she at one time writing of “the nobility of princes and peasants everywhere but not Brummagem coronets”. Her thought must be set down for us as “the-rich-man-in-his-castle” and “the-poor-man-at-his-gate”. This is to describe what sort of rich man she was thinking of—a rich man who was also a nobleman—and what sort of poor man,—a poor man who had his gate to lean upon and not a proletarian. It may surprise many to learn that Lord John Manners and Disraeli, when they came to power in

1866, decided to reform the House of Commons by reviving the ancient estates so that workers should have a vocational vote. This was in line with their successful bill which in 1852 legalised the new co-operative societies. Much of the credit for this must go to Manners who had read deeply of the co-operative elements in medieval society. The intended reform of the Commons by way of vocation was rejected chiefly by the Liberals who called it the "fancy franchise". The second best was successful—the extension of the vote to artisans without reference to "the estates".

Classless Society and Middle Class

Much earlier—in 1848—Disraeli came to learn the contents of a letter sent by Cobden, a typical representative of the new bourgeoisie, to Peel, a former Tory who had changed the name of the Tory Party to Conservative at a meeting in Tamworth and who was himself a member of the new bourgeoisie. Disraeli shook the House of Commons by revealing the gist of its contents, a clear proposal to procure a reform of the Commons which would give perennial power to the middle class. Disraeli had this to say: "Now that the opposition has obtained its ends: now that it has passed its measures; now that its beautiful commercial system is working its results; now that it thinks it has confirmed itself in political authority and parliamentary power, it has the unblushing front to say that the government shall be a middle class government and shall work solely for the middle class . . . It will be but a poor consolation for us to discover that the only return we have for a diminished revenue and a declining commerce is the arrogant authority of a class which obtained power by false pretences and now, possessing it, attempts to exercise it merely for that class's own advantage".

Following in that tradition I have for many a year bashed the bourgeoisie, often to the surprise of my many left-wing friends and acquaintances whose knowledge of history is defective. In modern times criticism explicit or

implicit has come from such as T. S. Eliot, who have discerned that the revolutionary symbols of the Left, the hammer and sickle, have in some absented-minded manner been turned into the bourgeois collar and tie. But Lenin had anticipated this: "The development of the workers' movement goes straight forward towards subjection to the bourgeois ideology . . . and trade unionism means exactly the intellectual enslavement of the workers by the bourgeoisie".

I have singled out criticism of this source, partly because it is hardly ever mentioned and partly to show an antinomy, the plight and the success of the bourgeoisie. From 1818 when the Whig Brougham described "the middle classes" as the "wealth and the intelligence of England", the bourgeoisie has been a popular target even while a gradual tendency for some movement towards a so-called "classless society" has for some time now, as T. S. Eliot observed, tended to be a middle class society. This may to some extent excuse the miscellaneous drop-outs to the extent that they either cannot or will not conform to the bourgeois way of life, or to the bourgeois scale of values.

The Bourgeois Scale of Values

Almost every society (nation) has its class structure. Large numbers of people oppose this structure. Here I am diagnosing it though I also defend it. The bourgeois scale of values is such that it sets a very high value upon "getting on in the world", respectability, privacy, caution, reticence, thrift, and love of property. It still abhors drunkenness as what is left of the old aristocracy does little more than give a drunkard an indulgent smile. We do well at this point to realise that the middle class has always existed in most societies, though in some it has been small. Wales has had a much smaller middle class than England. In Scotland the burgesses once had a more exact and explicit role. In comparison, England's "senior burgess for Xtown" is an archaism. But who belong to the middle classes? It certainly

includes professional men, higher-paid clerks and accountants, bankers, upper civil servants, dons, "executives", merchants and well-off shopkeepers. I would regard lower paid clerks, lesser civil servants and the little shopkeeper round the corner as petit bourgeois. Strictly speaking, farmers and all others who belong to the landed interest should not be included even though farms grow more and more industrialised.

Bourgeois Managerial Caste

I do not by any means consider it to be a digression to point to the fact that since 1945 the old contrived antithesis, workers versus owners, has given place to workers versus management. When I was a young man, I was constantly being told that, if the coal industry were nationalised, hey presto, strikes would disappear. Indeed, just after the post-war advent of the Labour Party to power I was returning home from the army on leave and sat in the same compartment as a group of miners who congratulated each other with such *obiter dicta* as "now the pits are ours, boys!" They had never read Burnham's then newly published *The Managerial Revolution*. They almost certainly had never heard of Belloc's *Servile State*. A generation before, many miners in South Wales were uncommonly well read and every welfare hall had a copy of *Hibbert's Journal*. But it is fairly certain that most people in these isles did not grasp the difference between "board nationalisation", which is not really nationalisation at all, and what I may call syndical nationalisation, called for in *The Miners Next Step* by the miners of South Wales before the first world war. This grave misunderstanding has led to a powerful managerial class which I feel often enough is a managerial caste. We have, so it appears, something like a repetition of events in early Victorian times when the call to the reform of Parliament led straight forward to the seizure of power by the bourgeoisie. The reform of Parliament, ostensibly done to get rid of "rotten boroughs" and the like, actually led to the

Chartist Movement and the Chartist riots. The reform of certain industries by way of boards has led to strike after strike, the only difference being that owners have been replaced by "the management". I find it apt to quote Belloc.

"The accursed power that stands on privilege
(And goes with women and champagne and bridge)
Broke—and Democracy resumed her reign;
(Which goes with bridge and women and champagne)."

Working Class and Bourgeois Values

At this point it is necessary to exercise caution. A normal society must have its bourgeoisie. Societies governed by some brand of Marxist Communism have their clerks, accountants, lawyers, scientists, politicians of the higher ranks, top officers in the armed forces, and writers (some of whom are liable to correction by the government). It is a very superficial act to bash the bourgeoisie per se. My record in this matter is that I have bashed the bourgeoisie only when I have seen in some epoch of some civilisation that the bourgeoisie has seized too much power. I have so acted when I see how members of the working classes try to imitate the middle class and to obtain its ethos—its scale of values for example. To the extent that the bourgeoisie in spite of its loss of power has succeeded in attracting large numbers of the working class to its ethos, the bourgeoisie may be justly said to have somewhat neutralised its loss. In my long street near Tonypandy and in almost all the streets in the two Rhondda valleys most houses have their motor cars, and it is plain for most of us to see that this is a status symbol, as if the proletarians who drive up to the Labour Exchange were well on the way to being at least camp followers of the bourgeoisie.

Bourgeois Materialism and Contemporary Trade Unionism

The attack that must be made is upon the trade union

movement. (Notice my emphasis on the word *movement*). I resist the charge of plagiarism (from what I have written elsewhere) by writing this of trade unionism as we see it now: "The shameless materialism of trade unionism as we see it now is to be detected in the trade unionists' concept as essentially that of a congeries of leagues of isolated individuals mutually guaranteeing the inviolability of their individual isolation in satisfaction of sense and appetite." This is a vastly different concept from that of the responsible communities of persons united in charity towards the least fortunate members of their country. It is a vastly different concept from workers control through direct action, a concept well understood by my fellow countrymen sixty years ago.

It is high time to stop bashing the genuine bourgeoisie and to start bashing the trade unions. We should understand (with Edmund Burke) that a nation's constitution and well-being come from a complex system of checks and counter-checks,—in a word from balance. In 1873, it was time to bash the bourgeoisie, especially as large numbers of that class had adopted a semi-calvinistic concept of themselves. As comfortably off or well off, were they not anticipating the beatific vision? Had not men such as Samuel Smiles called upon them to recognise the need for self-help? Had not Carlyle so gloried in the act of working that they understood the real worth of such an act to be judged in terms only of the greatest possible gain? I had a calvinistic uncle, a merchant, who, in one way or another, told me that the non-elect could be almost always discerned by their poverty. All that has probably disappeared. It is highly probable that what has helped it to disappear is the attack upon thrift. We have an economy of waste, illustrated by the contemporary graveyards of thousands and thousands of motor cars, while others are compressed by machinery into blocks of metal.

Trade Unions: the New Bourgeoisie

Meanwhile, the trade union movement as a whole (which

moves forward to abide by the middle class ethos) moves forward to dispossess the bourgeoisie and to seize the power the bourgeoisie has lost. If over a century ago a good man might justly bash the bourgeoisie, today a good man must notice who now exercises the overweening power. If he thinks that the ideal balance has been lost, he may well conclude that it has been lost by the new monarchy of the trade unions.

They rely overmuch upon our common interest in the near past when miners were very badly treated. The trade union *myth* has been established so firmly that at the back of a million or more minds there is a feeling that we ought to go on sympathising with coal-miners. That is how the myth works. That is how the trade union movement moves year by year towards its despotism.

The establishment of a political myth is hard to dis-establish. But the task can be done—ideally not by members of the Conservative and Unionist party. I write of a certain political matter; I am not here interested in party politics.

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The Future of Pensions

J. M. JACKSON

THREE has been dissatisfaction with the levels of pensions in Britain for something like fifteen or even twenty years. The National Insurance scheme introduced in 1948 from the start failed to implement the proposals for social security that Beveridge had put forward during the war. The Beveridge proposals had been for a social insurance scheme that would have provided subsistence benefits payable as of right in the major eventualities that might deprive a person of his normal income. The scheme introduced covered retirement, sickness, unemployment and widowhood. The scheme was based on flat-rate contributions and benefits. Whereas Beveridge had advocated subsistence rate benefits, but with pensions only reaching this level after the higher level of benefit had been earned by an appropriate period of higher contributions, the new scheme started with all benefits at the same rate. The provision of all benefits at the same level was achieved at the expense of setting benefits at less than the subsistence level. Given that the scheme was to be financed by flat-rate contributions, there was a limit to the burden that could be imposed on lower paid workers. If all benefits were to be at the same level, if there were to be flat-rate contributions and if no undue burden were to be placed on lower paid workers, it was only possible to introduce a scheme that gave benefits at less than subsistence level.

Earlier Proposals

From time to time proposals have been made for the improvement of pension levels. An ambitious National Superannuation Scheme was put forward by the Labour Party in the late 1950s but the party failed to gain power. The Conservative Government introduced the Graduated Pension Scheme in the early 1960s but this provided only

a very small benefit for the extra contributions. Even if the scheme had operated until the end of the century (in the absence of inflation) it would not have provided by the year 2000 for a person who had contributed at the maximum rate over a whole working lifetime a pension that was equal to the subsistence level. With wages and prices rising steadily, even the pension rights that were being earned were steadily being eroded. The ceiling for contributions and benefits was raised, but without adjustment of the rights already earned, the scheme could never hope to make a serious contribution to the problem. There can be little doubt that the prospect of a graduated pension was merely the sugar coating on the pill of increased contributions; contributions that were intended to meet the immediate problem of how to finance the increasing burden of the flat-rate pension.

The Graduated Pension Scheme solved nothing, and the Labour Party continued to look at other arrangements for improving pensions. The Labour Party plans had certain characteristics which are worth noting. The scheme which was put forward during the late 1960s involved earnings related contributions and earnings related pensions. The scheme was, however, weighted in favour of the lower paid workers. The formula was that a worker would receive 60 per cent of his average earnings up to half the national average, and on earnings between half and one and a half times the national average 25 per cent. This meant that, with present average earnings around £44 a week, a person with average earnings over his career of £22 would receive a 60 per cent pension (£13.20); a man on the average of £44 a week would get a pension of £18.70 (43 per cent); and one on the ceiling of £66 would get £24.20 (37 per cent). For the same proportionate contribution, workers would get a smaller proportionate pension at higher levels of income.

A second important feature of the scheme was that it would be inflation-proofed. The pension was to be calculated by reference to the worker's average earnings over

his lifetime. Everyone is now aware that the variation of earnings over a lifetime do not merely reflect the progress of the worker in his career but also the general upward movement of wages and prices that we describe as inflation (It may be reasonable to relate pension to average earnings over a lifetime, if prices are stable, though the best occupational pension schemes relate the pension to final earnings.¹) Inflation proofing was to work on the following basis. Periodically, the record of earnings would be revised. If the national average earnings rose over a period by 10 per cent, all recorded earnings for pensions purposes would be increased by 10 per cent. A worker who had always been earning the national average wage would retire on a pension that was related to that national average wage at the time of his retirement.

Again, the Labour Party failed to gain power at the time it was putting forward this scheme. The Conservative Party, now realising that some improvement in pension plans was necessary, brought forward its own ideas and legislation. The new plan was for two separate pensions. The flat-rate pension under National Insurance was to continue. There would, however, be one major change in that contributions would be on a proportionate basis. This would mean that whilst everyone got the flat rate pension, those with higher incomes would be subsidising the pensions of the poorer members of society. The real improvement would come through the extension of plans for a second pension. The philosophy of the legislation was the encouragement of occupational pension schemes. There was to be a state Reserve Pension Scheme as a fall back for those unable to

¹ A man's earnings may rise over his career as he assumes higher responsibilities or becomes more experienced. In many fields there are regular incremental salary scales. Clearly, if a certain rate of contribution is levied towards pension, a formula can be established relating the final pension to average earnings over a full career. Equally, the formula could relate the pension to final salary. It will be obvious that with a given level of contributions the pension will form a smaller proportion of final salary than average salary. What really matters is that the best schemes aim at making the pension the appropriate proportion of final salary. Half of final salary may be reasonable, but half of average salary may involve a very big drop in living standards since it could easily represent perhaps as little as a quarter of final salary.

get into a satisfactory occupational scheme. This was to be operated on strict actuarial lines. The pensioner would get the pension that could be provided from his accumulated contributions, together with interest on them.² The longer a worker contributed, the greater would be his pension; in fact, the pension would increase more than proportionately to the period of contributions because of the effects of compound interest in building up the pension fund. The actuarial basis of the scheme also meant that the Reserve Pension that would be received by a woman would be less than that of a man. A woman retiring at 60 has a much greater life expectation of life than a man at 65. Although her overall life expectation is greater, she is retiring five years earlier. So if two people contributed in exactly the same manner over a twenty year period, the fund that would be accumulated would buy a smaller pension for the woman than the man, because she goes on drawing it so much longer, on average.

The New Plan

The Conservative Plan actually reached the statute book, but again a change of government has intervened. The Labour Government does not intend to implement the legislation that has been introduced but to introduce an alternative plan of its own. The new plan takes as its base rate the existing flat rate pension of £10 a week (or such level as that pension will have reached when the scheme is implemented). On average earnings up to the base level there will be a pension of 100 per cent of earnings and there will be a pension of 25 per cent of earnings over the base level up to a proposed ceiling of £70 (i.e. it will be kept at seven times the base level). So a man earning £20 a week, on average, would get a pension of £12.50 and one

² The basis of actuarially sound pension schemes is that the contributions accumulate, with interest, into a fund. On retirement, that fund is gradually run down; contributions are calculated so that the amount of the fund on retirement is such that, allowing for interest on any balance still in the fund, payment of the pension exhausts the fund by the time the pensioner has reached his normal life expectation.

earning £44 a week (roughly present average earnings) one of £18.50; on the ceiling of £70 a week the pension would be £25 a week. These pensions represent 63 per cent, 42 per cent and 36 per cent respectively. As with the Party's previous scheme, inflation proofing is included; the earnings record will be adjusted in the light of changes in national average earnings. A married man will receive, as at present, an addition of £6 a week in respect of his wife, unless she claims a bigger pension than this in her own right. The scheme is due to come into operation over a twenty year period. During this period, the payment of pension in respect of earnings above the base level will increase proportionately to the time the scheme has operated. We saw that the scheme gives a pension of £12.50 to a man on £20 a week, when it is fully matured. A man who retires ten years after it has started would get a pension of £11.25, half way between the full pension of £12.50 and the present flat rate pension of £10 which is the base for the new scheme.

The scheme is exceptionally, one might say unfairly, generous to women. The Conservative legislation had adopted strict actuarial principles. In so far as women lived longer and retired earlier, they would get smaller pensions for given contributions. One could argue that it was hard on a woman to reduce her pension because of her greater life expectancy, and that this reduction could cause hardship. It is very difficult, however, to justify giving the same pension for the same contribution rate five years earlier. Equity requires that the retiring age should be the same. Perhaps it would have been impossible, without making the burden of contributions too onerous, to lower the retiring age for men. The alternative would have been to have raised that for women, but introducing for both sexes an option of earlier retirement on a reduced pension, an option which exists in many other countries.

It has been stated so far that the pension is based on average earnings. To be more specific, the proposal is that the pension should be based on the average of a worker's

best twenty years earnings. Whilst this may not be so favourable as final salary in the case of some workers, it may be better than average salary over a whole career or even final salary for many workers. The manual worker, unlike the white collar worker, may find that his earnings (inflation apart) do not increase steadily or remain constant at the end of his career but are more likely to fall. He may be less able to maintain a fast rate of working where there is payment by results; there are many cases comparable to that of the miner who may have to give up work at the coal face for less exacting work on the surface.

A married man receives an additional £6 in respect of his wife. This is payable when the man retires, even if the wife is under 60. On reaching 60, this becomes the wife's pension, or she can receive instead the pension she is entitled to in the light of her own work record. If her average earnings for the best twenty years is between £6 and £10 a week she will receive this amount as her pension.³ If her average earnings are in excess of the £10 base, she will, of course, receive £10 plus 25 per cent of earnings above that level. Suppose a man had average earnings of £40 on retirement and his wife £20. The man would be entitled to a pension of £17.50 and his wife to £12.50. They would thus retire on £30 a week, half of their combined average earnings. If a man had earned £60 a week but his wife had no pension entitlement in her own right, their pension would have been £28.50.

Is This what we Want?

Few would disagree that the present National Insurance retirement pension is inadequate. The question is what should be put in its place. There is clearly a major differ-

³ The twenty year rule must be qualified. Full pensions will be paid twenty years after the scheme comes into operation. Thereafter pension is based on the average of twenty best years for earnings. This does not mean that the full pension so calculated will be payable to people who paid contributions for only twenty years out of a possible forty. There is, however, provision for retaining full membership of the scheme by those who are sick or unemployed and by women who are at home looking after children or elderly relatives.

ence in the philosophy behind the pension plans of the two main parties. The Conservative plan was designed to put the main emphasis in bringing about improvements on occupational schemes whereas the Labour scheme is relying much more heavily on the state pension to raise the living standards of pensioners. There are serious risks in this. In an occupational scheme there is a contractual obligation. With a state scheme there is, in fact, no 'right' to receive any particular level of pension. There is nothing to prevent Parliament modifying the rules of the scheme at any time. If the burden of continuing to meet obligations under the existing rules seems too great, then the burden can be eased by defaulting on the promises that have been made.

There is certainly some need for inflation proofing pensions. The formula adopted by the government pension plan, however, may be far too generous to pensioners. The proposal is not to protect the pensioner against the effects of rising prices, but to increase the real value of pensions in line with rising standards in the economy generally. Revaluation of earnings in the light of changes in the wage level is appropriate to the determination of the pension entitlement, but there is no automatic right of the pensioner to expect more than the preservation of the purchasing power of his pension after retirement.

It is important to remember that the government scheme is essentially pay as you go. That is, the pensions are paid out of the contributions that are currently being collected. They are not paid, as in an occupational scheme, out of funds which have been accumulated over a long period. If this is so, the burden on the working generation will increase if the proportion of old people in the population increases. This would not be all that great an added burden in terms of pension contributions alone. A quick calculation suggests that it might amount to something of the order of 50p a week if there were a change in the ratio of workers to pensioners from 80 to 20 to 79 to 21. It must be remembered, however, that the main burden of meeting all government expenditure falls on the working population.

To try and preserve the pension rights of the retired on the basis suggested in the government's proposals may therefore be unrealistic. The big difference between the state and occupational schemes is that the former relies on the power of the government to tax the current generation of workers, the latter pays pensions out of claims on current production that have been built up by contributions (savings) which have been used to acquire ownership of and assist in the expansion of the community's productive resources.

An Alternative

Is it really true that occupational pension schemes cannot cater for all? In so far as there are some people who transfer from one job to another after relatively short periods, the answer is probably yes. There are, however, a number of developments that are worth considering. First, an attempt should be made to raise the flat-rate state pension to a subsistence level. This is the minimum pension on which a man ought to retire after a full working life. We could perhaps work towards this over a relatively short transitional period of say ten years. There is no reason why it should not be financed by flat-rate contributions. If this appears to put too big a burden on the lower paid worker there is no reason why the liability for pension contributions for this minimum flat rate benefit should not be transferred entirely to the employers over the transitional period. A pension should be regarded as a deferred wage payment and the worker is entitled to at least a minimum subsistence on retirement.

The long run improvement of pensions at rates above the subsistence level would be left to occupational schemes. The details of the kind and level of benefits to be offered by these would be a matter for negotiation between workers and employers. There is still clearly a big gap between the kind of pension offered by the proposed scheme and the best of occupational schemes. The government scheme would give a man on the ceiling of £70 a pension of £25

a week (£31 if married). The best of occupational schemes would give a man, after forty years service, a pension of over £46. The man who changes jobs frequently could still create problems. There is, however, no reason why there should not be some scheme to cover such cases. A proportion of earnings could be paid to a worker's credit in a pension fund and interest added over the years. Whilst it would not be possible in such cases to relate pension to final salary, as with employees who remain long periods with one firm, the worker could be given the pension that was made possible with the fund accumulated to his credit.

There remains the problem of those people who have already retired or will retire during the transitional period when pensions build up to the subsistence minimum. During this period, reliance should be placed on assisting those in greatest need. The solution is to avoid the present means test of the Supplementary Benefit scheme by use of some kind of reverse income tax, perhaps following the Conservative proposals for a tax credit. (The special merit of this scheme was that any application would go through the same mechanism as ordinary income returns for tax purposes.) It is worth noting that under the government's own scheme, a man on £33 a week, that is 75 per cent of the average wage, will only get a pension of £21.75 when the scheme is fully matured. It is probable that a couple on Supplementary Benefit could be entitled to something like £20. This pension will not be payable to the £33 a week man for something like twelve years.

Ought not the Church to support democracy as the ideal political structure? How is poverty of spirit to be cultivated in an affluent, consumer society? Was the concept of "blind" obedience ever healthy?

Any Questions?

WILLIAM LAWSON, S.J.

Ought not the Church to support democracy as the ideal political structure?

The Church has a concern for human rights. It belongs to her commission from Christ. With political systems she is concerned only incidentally. She has condemned the ideas of some political theorists—Jean-Jacques Rousseau for one; and occasionally she has protested against tyranny, as under Napoleon I and the Nazis and the Communists; but in the main she is content that legitimate authority, whatever its form, should be obeyed.

Before asking the Church to give a special blessing to democracy, it would be necessary to decide what a genuine democracy is, and where, if anywhere, it is to be found. One would need, also, to take account of the fact that the Church has a hierarchical constitution from her Founder, so that she can never be a constitutional democracy (though she can benefit from democratic procedures in administration); her blessing, therefore, if she gave one, would fall only on civic constitutions.

Abraham Lincoln's words in his Gettysburg Address sum up the generally accepted idea of democracy: "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The key phrase is in the middle: "by the people". Where is the people capable of self-government? During a debate on the 1867 Reform Bill for extending the franchise, one of the speakers in the Commons said: "I believe it will be abso-

lutely necessary that you should prevail on our future masters to learn their letters." We now have votes and education for all, but we move away from being a people towards being an irresponsible mass. More than in other forms of government, the governed in a democracy, because they have to enter into dialogue with their rulers, must be morally and politically mature, well-informed, living by sound principles, capable of clear judgments, and courageous. Are we such a people?

How is poverty of spirit to be cultivated in an affluent, consumer society?

Poverty of spirit is mainly a deep understanding of entire dependence on God, and a whole-hearted acceptance of His Will and His Providence. It has the right scale of values, headed by "the one thing necessary" which is devotion to Christ and progress with Him to the Father, in the power of the Holy Spirit. The "necessaries of life" and the comforts and luxuries, are then seen as means to a supernatural end, so that one can take them or leave them according as they help or hinder the attainment of that end. Concern and interest are determined by a supernatural measurement. There is a fairly narrow limit to one's desire for material goods. St. Paul says: "There is great gain in holiness with contentment; for we brought nothing into the world, and we cannot take anything out of the world; but if we have food and clothing, with these we shall be content"—and he obviously means not a lavishness of food or an extensive wardrobe of clothing, but just enough.

"Enough" is not a word that belongs to the consumer society. People are primarily buyers, to keep the economy going. They are worked upon by advertisement, political speeches, and the example of their neighbours to be insatiable. They are like the two daughters of the horse-leeph in the Book of Proverbs: " 'Give', says one, and 'Give', says the other".

Catholic parents must find it extremely difficult these

days to bring up their children to poverty of spirit. They would hate to foster a brood of little horse-leeches; but the children soon learn to cry "Give, give!" Parents have to be able to say a Christian "No", when all around them are saying a permissive "Yes"; and they need to know when to say "Enough" to themselves.

Was the concept of "blind" obedience ever healthy? In any case, ought it not now to be abandoned?

Our obedience is ultimately to God, and it is always blind. "O the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments and how inscrutable His ways! For who has known the mind of the Lord, or who has been His counsellor?" Obedience to God is an act of faith, and that is a step into the dark.

"Lead, kindly light, amid the encircling gloom;
 Lead thou me on!
The night is dark, and I am far from home;
 Lead thou me on."

In accepting God's will in His Providence, we do not ask for explanations.

"Keep thou my feet: I do not ask to see
 The distant scene; one step enough for me."

When we submit to the authority of the teaching Church and hold what she teaches, we do not demand that she explain before we will believe; we believe at once, and then seek to understand in the light of faith.

Where the will of God comes to us through a mediator without the guarantee of infallibility, we have to assure ourselves that authority from God has not been perverted into immoral commands. Nazi officers who carried out orders to massacre the innocent justified their conduct by saying, "Orders are orders". Their "blindness" was culpable. In a secularized civil life we need to be critical of orders —they may be immoral. In religious life, such care is unnecessary: a command against charity or justice would

force itself into notice. The perfection of religious obedience is, I think, comparable to "faith first, understanding afterwards": the command is fully accepted at once, and any explanations are against a background of complete acceptance.

Would it be right for a Government to refuse the demands of criminals who have threatened to kill hostages unless their demands are met?

They say that the time to refuse the demands of a blackmailer is when they are first made. He may then do his worst, but he never bothers you again. If a Government were to announce that it would not treat with terrorists, and if then a group of terrorists with hostages were to begin their blackmail, from a bank or a hijacked aircraft, and if the Government would stand firm, the hostages might be killed, and the terrorists would be either shot down or captured and executed. The Government, most probably, would then be free from terrorist blackmailers. To give in is to invite further attempts at extortion, to endanger many more lives, and to undermine law and order.

It could be argued that, for the common good, they *ought* to leave hostages to their fate.

That may be all very well in theory; but what about a government that has to decide whether or not to allow these particular innocent people, in this plane, on one of their airfields, to be murdered? Who are the Government to sacrifice human lives for a vagueness called "the common good"? They would be blamed if they let the hostages die? Should they be blamed for submitting to blackmail?

What is needed is a full international agreement that, for the sake of world order and the security of people generally, no government will yield to terrorist demands, and that terrorists who try blackmail by taking hostages and threatening to kill them will themselves be killed. It is giving in to them which has made the taking of hostages a routine terrorist gambit.

But there are governments in favour of or afraid of terrorists who operate from their country.

Is there a basic human right to "job-satisfaction"? After original sin, God said to Adam, "cursed is the ground because of you; in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life; thorns and thistles it shall bring forth to you."

In the beginning before original sin, "the Lord God took the man and put him in the Garden of Eden to till it and keep it." The work would have been an enjoyable exercise of strength and skill; and further enjoyment would have come from the fruitfulness of the work. It is natural to man, aware of his vigour and abilities, to want to use them and to find satisfaction in doing so. The contrariness of the vegetable and animal kingdoms make work harder and less rewarding; but they do not change human nature nor do they deny it the satisfaction of success. Work itself is not a curse. It is the chief way in which a man fulfils himself. He has a right to employment not only to make a living and be independent but also to employ his talents and so keep himself healthy in mind and body. Leisure, then, is a rest between two satisfying spells of exertion: it is a break made more agreeable by the prospect of a return to the job.

Satisfaction should go with jobs. A job which is not satisfying is not fit for a human being; and that, unhappily, is the kind of job which results from industrialization and mass-production. Work on assembly lines must be so boring that the workers are driven to find relief in endless day-dreams or periodic strikes. The return for their labours is not the pleasure of using their skills but just a pay-packet which will enable them to live and perhaps find opportunity for full use of their talents in do-it-yourself hobbies.

What proportion of my income ought I to devote to support of the Church and to almsgiving?

It is a question first of all for your accountant; and I should have nothing to suggest without knowledge of his findings. There *is* an obligation, which you obviously want to fulfil, to "contribute to the support of your pastors" and to help meet the needs of the poor; but it is impossible to fix a proportion of income, the same for all, which should be given for those purposes. In an agricultural society in which the Church was solely responsible for the poor it was reasonable to have a system of tithes, as in this country. One tenth of all produce had to go to the Church, for the support of priests, the maintenance of the church fabric, and the care of the poor. The tithes were paid for a long time in kind, and then they were fixed at an annual money payment. They have ceased to exist.

The duty which most concerns you now is that of helping financially in the support of religion—a duty which comes from our human nature. It is an inescapable charge on income for those who are keeping the moral law. In some countries attempts have been made to fix the amount that should go into the Sunday collection—either a standard price for a seat in church or one decided on in discussion between the priest and each earning parishioner and handed in, week by week, in a special envelope. Here the Catholic pays what he thinks he can spare or has always been accustomed to give. My impression is that the faithful are most generous.

As to almsgiving, you may in various material ways help members of your family, and you are taxed to pay for the social services. That's why you need an accountant.

As this country moves further and further away from Christianity, a Catholic becomes progressively less in tune with the minds, speech and behaviour of those he meets in business and in social life. What should he do?—keep silent, or protest against what he thinks is morally wrong?

A manifesto by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, at present cir-

culating under cover in Moscow and recently published in France, has the title: "We must not accept falsehood". It is an appeal to his compatriots living under a totalitarian government to be entirely honest in their speech and writing, in casting their votes, and in attending or refusing to attend official meetings. Lies and falsehoods must not be uttered, nor must they be accepted. When they are heard, they must in some way be openly rejected.

The Catholic in the question would not himself tell lies or say what he knows to be false. What he has to decide is his attitude to untruth propounded at all levels of our national life. The decision is not easy for one whose work takes him into company which supports some or all of the immoralities corrupting our culture — obsession with a material standard of living, abortion, contraception, euthanasia . . . the easy way out would be to keep to oneself, avoiding any but the most impersonal relationships of business. But that would be to refuse the layman's duty of leavening the society of which he is a part. Where there is falsehood, he must bring truth. How he does that depends on circumstances. One cannot normally intervene in a private conversation; but a member of a group engaged in general discussion can have his say without causing resentment. A Catholic should give truth a voice, a polite and modest voice, but firm. At the least that will prevent his hearers from claiming a consensus for falsehood.

Book Review

Essential Analysis

The Devastated Vineyard by Dietrich von Hildebrand; Franciscan Herald Press, \$6.95, pp. 254. Obtainable from Pro Fide Book Service, 39 Blenheim Park Road, Croydon, Surrey at £3.25 post free.

How often in these post-conciliar years have most of us felt in our own particular corner of the Church that something, somehow, was wrong, yet without being able to put our finger on it. It was this that was—and still is for many—so frustrating. We felt uneasy at the way things were going, but could not explain to ourselves what it was that was making them go in that particular way; why it was that the parish church we had loved since childhood was beginning to feel no more like home or the convent down the road taking on more and more the air of a secular institution.

Most of us, I imagine, have tried to live with this situation, but with considerable misgivings. Despite our efforts, a feeling of wariness remains with regard to a great deal that goes on in the Church today, even though we cannot put a finger on the basic cause of the trouble. We remain not so much confronted as surrounded or, better, pervaded by an atmosphere that seems qualitatively different from that experienced in days gone by; and, with it, there comes a feeling of homelessness that strikes, at times, with extreme poignancy. The temptation then is to feel that there is nothing left. The answer has to come that there is Christ on His Cross and that is everything. Hanging there he was the most forsaken of men; forsaken ourselves we find Him anew in His forsakenness and know that we are never alone. In His company we can never despair. It is this that brings strength.

This is true and this, perhaps, is the core of the answer: but it is not the whole of it. The great thing about von Hildebrand's fine book is that, in it, the Author shows with great clarity and courage that our unease at so much that goes on in the post-conciliar Church is well founded, and he is able to do this because he gets behind the confusion at present bedevelling the contemporary Church and pin-points the errors and false thinking, the mass of half-truths responsible for it. This is the great service he renders in a book which you should not try to get through in an afternoon, but which needs to be studied page by page. Von Hildebrand did the same in his *Trojan Horse in the City of God* written several years ago. Both books are invaluable. Anyone who studies them closely will be helped very greatly to see into the confusion bedevilling the Church today and given the confidence to do his or her utmost to help clear it up.

Plenty of examples come to mind where von Hildebrand's more recent work is concerned. There is, for instance, the ceaseless talk (mostly ill-informed) that flows now from Catholic platforms and pulpits about aid for the Third World. The implication too often is that this is Christianity, this is religion; join Father Tripalang on a twenty-five mile hike for the flood-stricken of Bangladesh or Honduras and you are doing *the whole of your Christian thing*. This is what religion is all about. When we hear this kind of talk slung at us each week in the callow Catholic Press or, more occasionally, over the air or, more frequently, I am afraid, in the pulpit, we *feel* it is wrong, but we cannot say exactly *why* it is wrong. Now, the great merit of von Hildebrand's book is that, in it, he does show exactly why it is wrong. Love of one's fellowmen is not a substitute for the love of God and *in itself* and apart from Grace has nothing to do with the love of God. It is a *consequence* of the love of God, but by no means the only consequence and certainly not the highest form the love of God can take. The pervasion of the Church by the Oxfam mentality has been one of the great tragedies—indeed near-heresies—of the post-conciliar

years. We live in days when it is not too difficult to get a tractor for a mission station in any part of the third world but, when you try to get a tabernacle or a ciborium for a church or a roof for a sisters' convent, you are met nearly always with a refusal. So far have we slid into do-gooding humanitarianism as a substitute for religion. We need very much these days von Hildebrand's sharp logic to get out of this frame of mind and we get plenty of it in this most excellent book:

"The true mission of the Church", he writes, "is not to improve the face of the world but to glorify God by the sanctification of men, and to secure their salvation. To shift the emphasis from eternity to the future, to devote all our energies to a happier earthly future for mankind, for progress toward a better world, to mobilize men for this ideal—to neglect the glorification of God, the sanctification of the individual, and his eternal blessedness—would not only deprive the Church of her *raison d'être*, but would condemn mankind 'to sit in the shadow of death'."

It is time, for all our sakes, that the Church, from Rome downwards, stopped chasing will-o'-the-wisps of this sort in the name of renewal and sought for it where it belongs, in the hard pursuit of her god-given primary task, which is the salvation of the souls of men. Pascal has put it well and von Hildebrand quotes him with effect: "I prefer an eternity without future to a future without eternity".

Or take the present talk of "community", which is so constant in Catholic progressive circles. Where the Christian is concerned, what is it, in fact, without God; or, in the case of Religious Orders within the Church, without an objective held under God and referable to Him? Yet, since the Council, we have seen one Religious Order after another, in the name of "renewal" and in defiance of the most elementary canons of basic psychology, loosen to the point of dissolution the bonds that tied their members within genuinely loving communities devoted to the pursuit, for God's sake, of supernatural goals and substitute in their

place what can only be described as bogus, ill-disciplined life-styles mis-shaped, in too many cases, to the pointless spontaneity of an aimless camaraderie. Overnight, rules, customs and traditions have gone overboard in the name of "community", which has surfaced in too many cases as little more than a down-at-heel club, cut through with dissensions, hiving off into cliques and trying to salvage what is left of itself nowadays in what are called new forms of "group living"—little groups of religious living apart from each other, making their own (mostly secular) lives, doing their own thing. All this because an elementary distinction has been lost sight of, because, at the beginning of it all, nobody stopped to think. The tragedy is that they have not yet started to do so. Meanwhile the rot bites deep.

So one might go on; but enough has been said, I think, to show something of the quality of von Hildebrand's work; the invaluable service he renders us all as he dissects with such clarity the mass of errors and half-truths so often on the lips of Progressives and responsible ultimately for most of the wreckage piled up within the contemporary Church. But von Hildebrand goes beyond dissection. He is not afraid to condemn those — bishops and religious superiors mainly—who have failed so often to use their authority to stem the tide of error and ill-discipline within the Church. Their responsibility is great and their failure to measure up to it has been, in too many cases, conspicuous. Within today's Church sheep have been deserted by their shepherds in their time of greatest peril. One can only conclude that hirelings too often have been in charge of dioceses and Religious Orders. Thus it is that the heretics within the Church have been allowed to go their way unchecked; the wreckage within the Church and within Religious Orders has been as a rule the work only of a barefaced and scheming few of whom those in authority appear terrified and from whom—in an endeavour, no doubt, to appear "with it"—they seem increasingly to take advice. Conduct of this sort is craven and contemptible; worse still is the use of authority to enforce on the Faithful

of a diocese or members of a Religious Order quiescence in face of the depredations of a handful of Progressives who carry out their work of wreckage from within. Action of this sort on the part of Bishops or Heads of Religious Orders, as von Hildebrand points out so well, is not only a betrayal of the responsibility that is theirs under God, but a betrayal of Christ Himself. When such a point is reached, as would appear to be the case with increasing frequency, there is placed on faithful majorities who love the Church and their Order the obligation of obeying God rather than men; of refusing to be parties to a process which will end in the destruction of their Church or of the Religious Order to which they belong. Let St. John Bosco have the last word: "The power of evil men lives on the cowardice of the good".

There are, I am afraid, far too many cowards in the Church today.

Paul Crane, S.J.

What is the Christian attitude to—Revolution? Capitalism? Marxism? Permissiveness? Politics? Racialism? Population problems? Development? Industrial Relations, etc., etc.?

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